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The Tui Tonga greeted the great *fahu* (the Tamaha) by placing her foot on his head or by touching his nose to her foot. In the presence of any of his *fahu* he must abstain from eating (65, p. li). He greeted the *kaingaofi* with the nose kiss. The matapule kissed his foot. The *kainangafonua* suffered the Tui Tonga's foot to rest on their head. This was supposed to cure those of this class who were sick. The *tamaioeiki* were too low to touch the Tui Tonga. If sick, they might be cured by having the abdomen of the afflicted one rubbed with the bowl in which the Tui Tonga washed his hands.

CEREMONIAL FUNCTIONS OF THE TUI TONGA

That the Tui Tonga was regarded as a true god by his subjects seems doubtful. That he was regarded as of semi-divine nature is certain, for the Tongan belief is that he was of semi-celestial origin, the progenitor of his line being the sky god Tangaloa Eitumatupua. That he was a god living upon earth all of my informants denied. Collocott, however, records (16, p. 79) a lament or funeral piece for a deceased Tui Tonga, in which he is called a god.

My informants knew of no worship of the Tui Tonga after death, but only of worship of the gods proper. The priest Kautai scoffed at the idea of the Tui Tonga being either a priest or a god. He characterized him as the highest male chief and hence the most sacred male of the country.

Wilson (66), however, states that on occasion, certain deities were represented by certain chiefs; although the Tui Tonga is not specifically mentioned, he may be referred to in connection with either the deity Pulotu Katoa or the deity Fatafehi (whom I have failed to identify). The deity Taliai Tupou was connected with the Tui Kanokupolu. Wilson's statement follows (op. cit., pp. 276, 277):

> Every district has its own deity; and each family of note has one, whom they consider as their peculiar patron. Talliataboo [Taliai Tupou] is the god of Aheefo [Hihifo], which being at present the most powerful, he is accounted a great warrior. Futtafáihe [Fatafehi] presides over Mooa [Mua] and Doobludha [Pulotu], Cartow [Katoa] over the district of Ahoge [Hahake]; each of which deities are on certain occasions represented by the several chiefs of those districts.

Mariner (41, vol. 2, pp. 78, 79) states that high respect and veneration for the Tui Tonga were shown by the following observances: (a) *inasi* ceremony: offering to him of first fruits, about October; (b) peculiarity of his marriage ceremony; (c) peculiarity of his burial ceremony; (d) peculiarity of mourning for his decease; (e) non-circumcision, unless he went to other islands for the operation; (f) not tattooed; (g) peculiarities of speech, used in regard to the Tui Tonga.

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At Lapaha was a priestess named (or entitled) Poula whom the Tui Tonga consulted. She resided at the site now occupied by the dwelling house of the Catholic priests. For what god she officiated, I could not learn. She was no doubt the medium through which the Tui Tonga communicated with a patron deity, quite possibly Hikuleo. 643 793 [776]

The Tui Tonga appealed to the gods when he was ill, just like any other chief. Mariner (40, vol. 1, p. 453) gives an account of the illness of Fuanunuiava. 643 776 755

By far the most important ceremony in which the Tui Tonga functioned was the great annual *inasi* or offering of first fruits to the gods. The word *inasi*, meaning to divide, to share, to apportion, is applied especially to food, and in the great *inasi* ceremony food and models of yams were brought as offerings. Although the food was brought to the Tui Tonga and the ceremony impossible without him, the appeal came from the people to the gods, the Tui Tonga evidently acting as intermediary. Or perhaps it is more correct to say that the Tui Tonga, being the most exalted of males, was needed in person at the ceremony in order to insure the favor of the gods. It is unfortunate that no further data on the *inasi* could be obtained in 1920 and 1921. However, the accounts of early voyagers refer to this ceremony. 643 782 [527]

Farmer (23, p. 129) says definitely, upon the authority of the Methodist missionary Thomas, that Hikuleo was the deity for whom the *inasi* was performed. [776]

Perhaps the great *inasi* included offerings to the royal dead as well as to Hikuleo, the ruler of the realm of the dead, for seventeen royal tombs in Tongatabu received shares (*inasi*) of offerings during ceremonies at the sanctuary Fanakava in Lapaha, Tongatabu: Fangaloto, Folokomanu, Matamoana, Makamaka, Heketa, Moungalafa, Leka, Tofaua, Tauatonga, Taetaea, Tauhakeleva, Mau, Katoa, Paepae o Telea, Namoala, Tuofefafa, Tuoteau. [769]

Misui Mafileo, an aged informant, described to me a *kotoni* ceremony (or perhaps entertainment) which he witnessed in Lapaha in his youth and at which the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga and a matapule named Toamalanga presided. Laufilitonga and Toamalanga formed the *mua* (focus, center, or head) of the ceremony. Laufilitonga was seated under a *koka* tree against which he leaned. Toamalanga sat beside him. The green (*malae*) of Feingakotone was the scene of the performance. Toamalanga's family wore oiled white tapa (*vakai*) in enormous folds around the waist. 643 796 527

Many people ("all the people in Tonga") were present. There were six or seven groups of warriors armed with clubs made from coconut fronds dried two days in the sun. The club bearers formed two lines of thirty to forty men each. On one side were men from Niuafoou, Niuatoputapu, Samoa, Vavau, Haapai, Eua, Fuaamotu in Tongatabu, and all the Hahake District 643 796 526 527

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the new appointee. This form of ceremonial installation (*fakanofo*) prevailed from the Tui Tonga down to the lowest matapule. When a god became incarnate in a priest, the kava circle was formed with the priest presiding. Matters to be discussed with the king or a high chief were broached at the king's kava circle, which comprised the principal chiefs attendant at his court. Some executions took place within the circle (26, p. 67).

The formal drinking of kava has perhaps its most important social aspect in the visualization of the rank of the participants through the seating and through the order of serving.

With one or two exceptions, no chief might sit in the formal kava circle without an attendant matapule. When the Tui Tonga, Tui Haa Takalaua, or Tui Kanokupolu presided at a kava circle, he was flanked by two matapule. In the formal kava circle only titled persons may sit; the president of such a circle seems always to have been the title-holder of highest rank. With the exception of the Tamaha and perhaps the Female Tui Tonga, who were title holders, women seem not to have presided in kava circles except at marriages.

The formal circle, therefore, comprises the assemblage of the representatives of the ancestors, the first holders of the titles. The first holders of the titles of Tui Tonga, of matapule Lauaki, of Tui Pelehake, and of Tui Loloko, were the putative sons of a god, Tangaloa Eitumatupua; the original holders of all other titles were the offspring of mortals. There seems, however, to have been a certain equating of gods and ancestors, for a priest possessed by a god presided as would the king. Moreover the Tui Kanokupolu is called Taliai Tupou, the name of his patron god. I suspect that the title holders in the kava circle impersonate the ancestral first holders of titles and perhaps are even regarded as their temporary incarnations. (For example, Lauaki is called Maliepo, the name of his ancestor who descended from heaven.) This probability is strengthened by the fact that whenever a chief is accompanied by his matapule, formal conduct is required of him.

The following terms refer to the kava ceremony:

Alofi. The kava circle.

Apaapa. The alofi or circle of the Tui Tonga's kava party; the masters of ceremonies in a kava party, that is, the matapules who sit on each side of the chief who presides in the kava party; to sit next to the chief in the kava party.

Faikava. Literally, to do kava, a kava party.

Fakamatua. A movement from one sitting posture to another. For example, if a group of men in a kava circle are sitting tailor fashion (*fakataane*) so close together that their knees are touching, and others come to join them, the president may say "Fakamatua", at which every one turns to the right obliquely, thus making room for the new arrivals.

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their origin, to be haunted by "devils," and the people of the neighborhood avoid passing the mound in the dark.

Besides manifesting themselves through priests or priestesses, the gods appeared also in animal form. The animal was called the *vaka* (boat) of the god, and the priest the *taula otua* (anchor of the god). Needless to say, it was forbidden for the worshipper of a god to eat the animal in which the god might become incarnate. The journal of missionary Watkin (61) mentions a person "who was then very ill, because he had eaten the god from which the tribe had sprung and to which they paid divine honors, the *feke* or catfish."

All of the gods are today called *tevolo*, which is the Tongan rendering of English "devil." Some informants, however, insist that *tevolo* is an old Tongan word, and the late chief Maatu of Niuatoputapu gave an interesting etymology which would appear to be a rationalization. He analyzed *tevolo* as *te* "to bring out," and *volo* "salivary glands," referring to the frothing at the mouth on the part of the inspired priest. The proper ancient term for a god seems to be *otua*. The term *fili* was given by one informant as a synonym, as was also *puloa*. The generic term *faahikehe* denotes gods, spirits, ghosts, and apparently priests. It means literally "different side," or "different kind," referring to the different endowment of the *faahikehe* as compared with normal human beings. Another term for gods was *taulamua*, based on the term *taula* (anchor) which occurs in the word for priest.

The widespread Polynesian gods, Tu, Tane, and Lono, appear to have been unknown in Tonga. Tangaloa was well known, and existed in several forms, always, however, as a sky god rather than a sea god. There appear to have been no temples or priests dedicated to Tangaloa. His rôle in the creation of solid land and man is well exemplified in Tongan mythology.

Although the Tui Tonga and the Tamaha were believed to approach the gods in essence, nevertheless they were human, from the Tongan's standpoint, inasmuch as they prayed to the gods when ill and their relatives sacrificed their little fingers for them. However, even Tangaloa the Lord of Heaven seems to be conceived of as dying, for in one myth the words are put into his mouth: "The funeral of the Tui Tonga shall be as my own funeral" (26, p. 42). On the other hand, the leper Fakailoatonga, who ordered himself buried alive, was deified and worshipped. According to Farmer (23, p. 129), the god of the Tui Tonga was Hikuleo, for whom the Tui Tonga acted as priest or intermediary, the offerings of the great Inasi ceremony being destined for Hikuleo. I could obtain no evidence that the deceased Tui Tonga were worshiped, although offerings were placed at their tombs (p. 76).

Although I have succeeded in adding a few unrecorded gods to the Tongan pantheon, there are certain deities, notably the goddess Kallafootonga

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lineal lineages. Thus, it is proper to speak only of the gods of chiefs and of lineages not of the gods of localities. Often more than one god was attached to a lineage. Thus the head of the Haa Takalaua might be under the protection of a great god like Finautauiku. All members of the lineage were likewise under that god's protection, and in addition, certain members of the lineage might have lesser gods as their patrons.

Aside from Tangaloa Tufunga, the patron of carpenters, I could learn of no occupational deities. The attachment of a god to the head of a family might give the appearance of occupational deities. Thus, the head of a matapule family, which practiced carpentering, or functioned as undertakers, might have a certain deity as his patron, but as the patron of the family rather than of the occupation.

Not only did the priest of a lineage or family act as a medium between the lineage and the gods, but also as a medium between the lineage and the spirits of its dead. Offerings were made to these spirits by the family through the priest. It was thought that these ancestors could cause illness, a belief which doubtless led to the making of propitiatory offerings. However, other more direct and retaliatory means were sometimes resorted to. The grave of the offending ancestor might be broken open, the bones taken out and beaten, and imprecations uttered. To avoid sickness caused by the spirit of the deceased relative or ancestor, Tongans did not pass through or near graveyards at night. It was thought that the spirits of ancestors sometimes became visible. Thus, at Tatakamotonga in Tongatabu, a light, supposed to be Tukuaho's spirit (*faahikehe*), is sometimes seen at the spot where the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho was murdered in 1799. Not only families headed by chiefs, but also those headed by matapule, had patron gods. Some families of commoners had a household or patron deity. The family of the great matapule Motuapuaka had the god Haele Feke as its patron. This god became incarnate in the octopus and there was a tapu against Motuapuaka's people eating that animal. A Methodist minister named Malupo, who is a member of Motuapuaka's lineage, even to-day gets a headache when he eats octopus. This god sometimes manifested himself in the priest, who conveyed verbally the messages of the god, and upon the withdrawal of the god shook so violently, that people must rush to him and hold him, in order that he might not injure himself.

The patron deity of the Tui Tonga is reported by Farmer (23) to have been Hikuleo. The patron deity of the Tui Haa Takalaua and of the great chief Tungi, was Finautauiku and the officiating priest was Mohekifiehua. The patron deity of the Tui Kanokupolu was Taliai Tupou whose priest was called Totohoumafisi. Tui Ahau was by some informants declared to be another manifestation of Taliai Tupou, by other informants a separate deity. Tui Ahau was regarded as a patron of the Tui Kano-

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There seem to be two mutually exclusive ideas as to the nature of ghosts and doubles. One idea is that they are emanations from, or constituent parts of, mortal man, like the various spiritual parts of man conceived by the ancient Egyptians. The other conception is that they are spirits or devils which by passing through the body in a grave or through a living person assume the likeness of the person. This conception makes both the ghost and the living apparition appearances taken on by evil spirits embodied in human form, rather than emanations from, or constituent parts of, the human body. It seems likely that spirits thus appearing in the form of some known person should be classified with Mariner's *otua paau* (41, vol. 2, p. 104), although no modern informant so classified them. One informant said that it was a spirit from Pulotu that might thus take on human form by passing through a grave. It is said that when a person sees a ghost he shakes all over and his hair stands on end, but no sickness follows. Ghosts are declared not to partake of food, and food offerings were said not to have been made at graves. This is perhaps to be accounted for by the belief that Pulotu is a land well supplied with the necessities of life.

At the death of a person it is believed that the ghost of a dead relative may come to take the deceased. If a ghost is seen when a chief is ill, it is thought to be a relative come to give medicine. People fear ghosts because they may take life.

A ghostly experience of the influenza epidemic in 1918 was related. Fusipunga of Lifuka, a man who worked in the government labor gang and who had withdrawn from the Free Church to join the Mormon Church, is said after death to have haunted his wife and his friend Albert of the Free Church. His ghost prevented his wife and friend from sleeping, coming at night and shaking them. It was thought that Fusipunga had done wrong and hence could not rest in peace. There were those who said that his great sin was quitting the Free Church and joining the Mormons, also subleasing his land to Mormons for the erection of their church.

To lay a troublesome ghost the grave is opened and the bones broken or moved. This is done especially when it is believed that the appearance of the ghost is responsible for other deaths in the family. No special term was mentioned for this act, only the term *liliu* (to change, to move) being used.

In connection with the excavation of skeletal material on the island of Kao, Haapai, by McKern and me, ghosts manifested themselves. Natives who encamped near the burial place, which was the floor of a great bubble of lava, said that they heard "a man and a woman" crying at the spot the night following the removal of the bones. A Lifuka informant had heard similar wailing following the removal of bones from a cemetery, but attributed it to the "blood" of the buried person rather than to a ghost. This belief about sentient and rational "blood" was said by another informant to be a modern innovation.

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669 had another review like the former; and after
726 remaining two days, sailed with all the rest of
[716] the forces of the confederate islands, amounting in all to about one hundred and seventy canoes, direct for the island of Tonga. Owing to the calmness of the weather, they did not reach their destination the same evening in sufficient time to land, but went on shore at a small island close by, called Pángaimótoo, where they passed the night.

778 Before morning, several presents were
[634] brought to Finow and his chiefs, by the people
[431] living at a consecrated place on the island of Tonga, called Mafanga. Mafanga is a piece of ground about half a mile square, situated on
[766] the western part of the island. In this spot are
[764] the graves where the greatest chiefs from time immemorial have been buried, and the place is therefore considered sacred; it would be a sacrilege to fight here, and nobody can be prevented from landing: if the most inveterate enemies meet upon this ground, they must look upon each other as friends, under penalty of the displeasure of the Gods, and consequently an untimely death, or some great misfortune. There
726 are several of these consecrated places on differ-
669 ent islands.
634 The following morning, Finow with several
796 of his chiefs and matabooles landed at Ma-
769

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fanga: they immediately proceeded to his father's grave, (Mr. Mariner being also with them) to perform the ceremony of Toogi. All who went for this purpose put on mats instead of their usual dress, and wreaths made of the leaves of the *ifi* tree round their necks (significant of respect and humility). They sat down cross-legged (the usual way of sitting) before the grave; Finow, as well as the rest, beating their cheeks with their fists for about half a minute, without speaking a word. One of the principal matabooles then addressed the spirit of Finow's father to the following purpose: "Behold the "man (meaning Finow) who has come to "Tonga to fight his enemies: be pleased with "him, and grant him thy protection; he comes "to battle, hoping he is not doing wrong; he "has always held Tooitonga* in the highest "respect, and has attended to all religious cere-"monies with exactness." One of the attendants then went to Finow, and received from him a piece of cava root, which he laid down on the raised mount before the Fytoka (burying-place). Several others, who had pieces of cava root in their bosoms, went up to the grave in like manner and deposited them. The ceremony being thus finished, Finow and his friends

* Tooitonga is a great chief, supposed to be descended from a God.

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Too'i Bolo'too; literally, *chief of Bolotoo.* This and the three following gods are all minor gods of the sea and of voyages, and protectors of Finow's family. Notwithstanding his name, he is inferior to all the gods mentioned before him; but much upon an equality with the three following. He has two houses dedicated to him at Vavaoo, and one at Lefooga; none elsewhere that Mr. Mariner knew of: he has, perhaps, two or three priests.

Ha'la A'pi A'pi; literally, *a road crowded.* He has the same attributes as Tooi Bolotoo. Mr. Mariner knows of no house dedicated to him. He has one priest.

To'gi Oocumme'a; literally, *an iron axe.* The same attributes as the above.

Toobo' Boo'goo; literally, *Toobo the Short.* The same attributes as the above.

Tangalo'a; god of artificers and the arts: doubtful if he has any house dedicated to him: has several priests, who are all carpenters. It was this god that brought the Tonga islands from the bottom of the sea, whilst fishing.

Such are the names and attributes of the chief primitive gods; next to those in rank and power come the souls of nobles.

Souls of Egies, or Nobles: of these there must be a vast number. Their attributes are similar to those of the primitive chief gods:

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775 they have the power of inspiring priests, and of
769 appearing in dreams and visions to their re-
[787] latives and others. They have no houses de-
[778] dicated to them, but the proper places to invoke them are their graves, which are considered sacred, and are therefore as much respected as
775 consecrated houses. Their names are the same
776 as they had whilst living, and they hold the
[784] same rank mutually among themselves as they held during their mortal existence; and whether their deeds were good or evil during their life, is a circumstance that does not at all affect their state in Bolotoo, all punishments for crimes being supposed to be inflicted by the primitive gods upon men during their lifetime; in which inflictions the second class of gods have a pro-
[82] portional power with the first. As many of these souls of nobles have had strong warlike dispositions in this world, it might be supposed that they waged war against one another in Bolotoo; but this is not the case, for, in that state of existence, their understanding is much more clear than in this world, enabling them to discern what is right, and disposing them to choose it in preference to what is wrong: not but what they, and even the primitive gods, have verbal disputes, but which, from the clearness of their intellect, and the justice of their views, are supposed to be managed with divine

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temperance; but as the temperate discussion of gods may appear awful violence to weak-minded man, so it is not to be wondered that such disputes at Bolotoo should produce thunder and lightning at Tonga; as happened in the discussion among the gods respecting the fate of Finow and his daughter. (Vide vol. 1[A])

The Souls of Matabooles come next: of these little need be said; they hold the same name and rank as during their life. They have not the power of inspiring priests; they cannot punish nor reward mankind, at least by any direct influence; though their friends and relatives sometimes beg their intercession with the higher gods, in behalf of their health, or prosperity, &c. They have no houses dedicated to them; they sometimes appear to their friends. Some of them are tutelar gods, and protectors of the *tooas*, or lower orders, which they are, as it were, by permission.

The Attendants, or Servants of the Primitive Gods. These, like the gods to whom they belong, are original inhabitants of Bolotoo. They are considered of less quality than the souls of matabooles. They have no power in Tonga, and if they go there they cannot manifest themselves. Their number is supposed to be immense.

The Hotooa Pow, or mischievous Gods.—

A [See 2: Mariner, category 116, pp. 350-378--Analyst]

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people; for it is not only to those who are old, both in years and wisdom, that such respect is paid, but every aged man and aged woman enjoys the attentions and services of the younger branches of society. Great love and respect for parents is another prominent mark of their character; and, indeed, it must be so, as it arises out of a two-fold motive: i. e. they pay respect on the score of parentage, and on that of superior chiefship or rank. Every chief also pays the greatest respect towards his eldest sister, which respect he shews in an odd way, but it is according to custom, viz. by never entering into the house where she resides; but upon what exact principle, except custom, Mr. Mariner has not satisfactorily learned.

The same principle of love and respect for parents and superiors engages every man to secure and defend his hereditary rights as another point of religious duty, and in honour to the memory of his ancestors, from whom he received them. By a farther extension of the same sentiment, he loves the island on which he was born, in particular, and all the Tonga islands generally, as being one country, and speaking one language. But the *amor patriæ*, in the more extended sense, cannot be supposed to prevail in a very high degree, for, having no wars with foreigners, the opportunities for the

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651 796 [292] [411] red ribbons and wreaths of flowers, and the men armed with spears and clubs, betoken the importance of the ceremony about to be performed. Each party brings in its yams in a basket, which is carried in the arms with great care, by the principal vassal of the chief to whom the plantation may belong. The baskets are deposited on the *malái* (in the *Mooa*), and some of the men begin to employ themselves in slinging the yams, each upon the centre of a pole about eight or nine feet long, and four inches diameter. The proceedings 651 796 788 769 are regulated by attending matabooles. The yams being all slung, each pole is carried by two men upon their shoulders, one walking before the other, and the yam hanging between them, ornamented with red ribbons. The procession begins to move towards the grave of the last Tooitonga (which is generally in the neighbourhood, or the grave of one of his family will do), the men advancing in a single line, every two bearing a yam, with a slow and measured pace, sinking at every step, as if their burden were of immense weight*. In the mean time the chiefs and matabooles are seated in a semi-

* And as if meaning to express, "How bountiful are the "gods, to give us so good a harvest, and provide us with "yams so large and heavy!"

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circle before the grave, with their heads bowed down, and their hands clasped before them. The procession now approaches: two boys, walking abreast of each other, precede it at a little distance, blowing conchs; then come the men, bearing the yams, about seventy or eighty in number, i. e. about a hundred and sixty men in a single line, as close to each other as the length of the pole will allow; after them comes a single line of men, about forty in number, singing aloud, as before stated, *nofo óooa* *, &c.; these are followed up by two other boys blowing conchs: they proceed between the grave and the chiefs, describing there a large circle two or three times, the conchs blowing and the men singing: the yams are then deposited, one after the other (still on the poles), before the grave, and the men sit down by the side of them, so that the chiefs and matabooles are in the rear: one of the matabooles of Tooitonga now rises, advances, and again seats himself before the grave, a little in advance of the men. Here he addresses the gods generally, and afterwards particularly, mentioning the late Tooitonga, and the names of several others. He returns

* Not only no work may be done at the time of the *ináchi*, but nobody may appear abroad, unless for the purposes of the ceremony.

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thanks for their divine bounty in favouring the land with the prospect of so good a harvest, and prays that their beneficence may be continued in future: this prayer he makes in the names of several chiefs present, whom he announces aloud. This being done, he arises and retires to his former place: the men now also rise and resume their loads in the same order, and, after having paraded round two or three times before the grave, return back to the malái the same way they came, singing and blowing the conchs as before. The chiefs and matabooles, a short time afterwards, rise and follow them to the same place, where the yams are now again deposited, and loosened from the poles, still, however, retaining their ornaments. The company seat themselves in a large circle, at which Tooitonga presides; the king, and other great chiefs, retiring behind among the mass of the people. The other articles that form part of the *Ináchi* are next brought forward; these are dried fish, *mahoa'*, mats, *gnátoo*, and bundles of *mellecoóla*, which, together with the yams (although not cooked), are shared out by one of the matabooles of Tooitonga. First, there is a considerable share (about one fourth), allotted to the gods, which the priests appropriate, and their servants immediately take away: about one half is allotted to the king,

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party, where an inspired priest sits at the head; the circumstances of inspiration we have already related, (Vol. I. p. 99.) and the form of serving out the cava when a priest presides, (Vol. II. p. 194.) The phrase *cava fucca egi* means literally, *a god-like cava.* Laying a small piece of cava root before the grave of a chief or consecrated house, out of respect to a god, or to a deceased relation, is called *toogoo cava*, and will be mentioned in its proper order.

Tow-tow is an offering of yams, cocoa-nuts, and other vegetable productions to A'lo A'lo (the god of weather) in particular, and to all the gods in general, for the purpose of ensuring a continuation of favourable weather, and consequent fertility. This ceremony is first performed at the time when the yams are approaching maturity, in the early part of November, and is repeated every ten days for seven or eight times. On the day appointed by the priest of A'lo A'lo, every plantation on the three parts of the island, viz. the *hahagi*, *mooa*, and *hihifo** districts provide a certain quantity of yams, cocoa-nuts, sugar-canes, bananas, plantains, &c. all which are brought to the *malái*, tied upon sticks, so that each stick, when held horizontally, has

* *Hahagi* is the north end of any island; *hihifo* the south end: the *mooa* part of the island being the centre.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

POEMS RELATING TO DEATH

Fortunately, accounts of the burial ceremonies of great chiefs before ancient practice had been modified by Christianity have been preserved. Those of the London Missionary Society's missionaries (40), who landed in Tonga in 1797, arrived shortly before the death of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui (Apr. 29, 1797). Mariner has described the burial of his friend and protector, Finau. Finau's daughter died shortly before her father, and the rites in connection with her burial are also described (28, vol. 1, pp. 296-299, 310-329). Good examples of the wailing (*tangi*) raised immediately after a death is also given by Mariner (28, vol 1, p. 134; vol. 2, chapters I, V).

Burial usually follows soon after death; but special affection or honor was sometimes shown to the dead by keeping the body unburied for a long time. Sometimes, it would seem, the body thus kept was put into a sort of coffin. I have heard such a funerary casket described as *vaka* (boat or canoe), a striking term. In all probability the coffin was actually a boat. Embalming was seldom, if ever, resorted to; and when the putrefying body became offensive it was referred to as *namu kakala* (fragrant smelling).

The most remarkable monuments in Tonga are the Trilithon, Haamonga-a-Maui, in Heketa, eastern Tongatabu, and the stone-faced burial vaults of great chiefs, especially of the Tui Tonga, most of which are also in eastern Tongatabu. These are terraced, rectangular mounds, of one to five tiers. On the island of Niuafoou is a burial mound of rather different shape, being roughly oval, though it is so overgrown with scrub that it is difficult to get a precise idea of its shape. It is about 40 yards long, and 3 or 4 feet high, faced with rough blocks of stone. Its shape would be more perfectly oval were it not that the roughness of the masonry makes angles. This is the burial ground of high chieftains, but is not treated with the respect that would be anticipated. People sometimes cut firewood from it today. They say that the chiefs buried there are not *paun*, mischievous, to them. This modern rationalism, however, is not approved by all the elders. More strictness is observed in cleaning this cemetery, the work being never undertaken except at the bidding of one of two chiefs, neither of whom lives in the island. Doubtless they are both *fahu* to the chiefs buried there. (Relatives of superior social rank are *fahu*, especially one's sister and father's sister, and their children.) The following poems contain references to the ghost ship from Pulotu, and to other ways of reaching Pulotu. Pulotu as the far-off island, however, seems to have been most prominently in the people's belief, as there is a very substantial agreement among observers who had the opportunity of learning the conceptions of the Tongans before they were influenced by Christianity. Vason (37, p. 150) relates that Tongans, conversing about one who had lately died, said "he

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

Empty graves are disliked; they are a threat to the living. When a new vault is made—the rock-lined vaults of great chiefs take some time to construct, the grave of an ordinary man can be quickly dug—a stone or a wooden pillow will be put into it, lest the ghosts seek an inhabitant for it by taking off someone from among the living. It is related that when one of the Tui Tonga was being buried a *haa tufunga* man was imprisoned in the vault with him. The vault could not be opened to release him, for to do so would have meant that it was being opened to receive the newly appointed successor of the dead king. So the unlucky man was left in the vault to die. This man should have had certain duties in connection with the presentation of the *pongipongi* each morning, but his place was vacant. So a messenger went each morning for seven or eight days to the grave and reported the gifts that were brought, and the imprisoned *matapule* cried out the appropriate thanks. Then there came a day when no response was heard from the vault, and the living concluded that the man was dead, and a successor was appointed.

Where there is only a grave to be dug the digging is the last task undertaken in the preparation for the burial. Should a funeral have to be postponed to the day following that on which it was expected, although the grave has been dug, the grave is not left open over night, but is filled in, and re-opened the following day. There is a dislike to starting a new burial ground, lest the ghosts of the few buried there be lonely, and seek to increase their company.

Hocart (25) says that in Samoa he asked the question, "What is an *aitu?*" and got the answer, "The man who is dead." A Tongan girl whom I asked, "Who are the *tevolo?*" replied, "The people who are dead." These ghosts appear in various forms to the living. It is said that it was once the custom for the friends of a man who had died to come to the house where he had died, after his burial, and spread mats on the floor, and wait till some creature crawled on to the mats. This creature, whatever it might be, was carefully wrapped up, and taken away and kept. It was the dead man's spirit, *laumalie*. (For fuller details see 20; 28; 37; 40; 10, pp. 136-142.)

Song of Tukulua[1]

Na'e fa'u 'i he ene mahaki'ia

To e totoka peau hahano,
Langa hoto 'ofa ki he huni vao;
Malimali pe siale tuikako,
Kolo atu kuou to ki lalo.
Koe vaka e 'ikai kei ato
Ka koloto e mala ni kuo mao;

When the calm mists fall I am filled with yearning,
With welling desire for the forest *huni;*
Smiling are the wreaths of *siale,*[2]
I think of you, I who am fallen down.
The boat has not yet come to land,
But I cannot escape this fate that is planned;

.6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

but containing a pun, the name meaning Man-who-believes-stories), or if anyone nearer home likes it let him have it."

Page 73. Falepapalangi

1. There are many obscurities in the details of this poem, some of which might have been cleared up had a second text been available.

2. It is not clear what is meant by exchanging poems. There might possibly have been an arrangement for performing each other's pieces which was not carried out. It may be a sarcastic reference to a claim of Mamaeaepoto that they were equal in poetic skill.

3. Mamaeaepoto is in the entourage of strong chiefs.

4. The two poets sought conquests amongst the women in separate districts, and the inference seems to be that, in their art too, they had better confine themselves to separate spheres or districts. The Feleave in the text seems to be an islet in the west of Tongatabu. The *siale* and the *kangale* are taken as typical plants of the two districts.

5. The meaning seems to be that "right from the commencement of our rivalry I showed myself a man of real achievement, while you have uttered nothing but foolishness; and whereas those foolish efforts of yours have proved futile, my poems have never lost their power to please."

6. Possibly there is a secondary meaning—make love.

7. To end. Besides the obvious meaning of engaging in the sport of snaring pigeons there is the meaning of winning the favors of women, who are frequently referred to as *lupe* (pigeon). He sarcastically tells his rival that he will get sweethearts for him and his party, as they have not much freedom to do anything for themselves.

Pages 73-79. Song of Tukulua

1. Nothing seems to be known of Tukulua beyond this poem, which was composed during the poet's illness.

2. *Hunai* and *siale* are names of fragrant plants.

3. A slight emendation of *hotau* to *hoto* would give "my" instead of "our." If the text is correct, it means the boat that ultimately bears us all away. This line and the one following may be a general reference to his own past life, his days of health and happiness, or there may be something of a belief that the fortunes of his ghost ship, even in the days before his illness, were parallel to his own. But probably this should not be pressed. Through it all is perhaps recollection of the days of his strength, when even though the storm raged and his mainsheet was snapped, yet he could bring his boat safely through to land and embark his "dear desire," his sweetheart; or that he could win through all hazards because he had her with him on board.

4. Onevao is an islet off Tongatabu; Niutao is not identified. Evidently both places are associated with pleasant experiences.

5. Thunder and lightning are frequently mentioned as presaging death or disaster.

6. *Pulotu 'aka'aka* should possibly be translated "widely ramified Pulotu." The word *'aka'aka* is regarded merely as an epithet of Pulotu, but the Rev. James Watkin says: "Bulotu *tete*, Bulotu *akaaka* and Bulotu *tuumau* are the names of the Tongan three heavens." Watkin was in a better position to gain information than any inquirer can be today.

7. Land of light (*mama*) is applied to the world of mortals, and to mortals themselves.

8. The heilala (*Gardenia sp.*) is one of the plants used in the sweet-smelling wreaths and garlands. Leaf girdles are frequently hung at the head of graves, and are then called *tapu kakala*.

9. Pebbles, with which graves are adorned. Fatailangalanga is the name of an unidentified place.

10. The reference means "Do not only give my body honorable burial, but also speak kindly of me." "Character" is *anga*. It is possible, however, that *anga* is an old word no longer known among Tongans, meaning "spirit." Compare Samoan *anganga*, thought, a disembodied spirit (32); Niue, *anganga*, the soul, spirit (35), Hawaiian, *anaana*, a prayer used to procure the death or curse upon one; witchcraft, divination, sorcery, and kindred meanings (1); and the well-known Tongan word, *angaanga*, corpse.

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

172 of the stone. A third petroglyph (fig. 41, *c*, 3) consists of three closely parallel, perpendicular lines of equal length with a fourth, shorter, diagonal line
531 closely adjoining the right side of the group. On the stones of this langi are
764 many other petroglyphs too poorly preserved to permit determining the detail of design. These all occur on the north and east sides.

It seems probably that most of the langi designs served a decorative purpose, although their production may have involved other ideas. The langis
[769] were the sacred resting places of the divinely descended kings, and were protected by divinely enforced tapus. The Christian natives of today avoid them. It is therefore reasonably certain that no impromptu inclination or careless and frivolous motive on the part of amateurs is responsible for the production of these drawings. Rather, they must have been authorized details of the langis. It is an interesting possibility that these designs are the
172 initial products of a tendency towards the type of stone wall decoration
531 so highly developed in some of the marae of the Marquesas (14, p. 133).
171 The Telekivavau petroglyphs are too simple and too few in number to constitute a basis for profitable comparison with the petroglyphs of other Oceanic provinces.

FORTIFICATIONS

Forms

172 The Tongans built elaborate fortifications. If their strategical or political
712 importance warranted it, towns, even small villages, were protected. Fortifications were not always kept in good repair. When changing conditions decreased the danger of attack, forts were permitted to deteriorate and were not restored to defensive fitness until occasion made it appear necessary.

A fortification consisted of three essential elements: an earthen wall or embankment, several of them in some forts; a fence of upright posts or heavily reinforced reeds surmounting the embankment; a moat, in most forts dry, immediately surrounding the wall elements. Of less importance are lookout platforms and concealed pits serving as man-traps. Such a fort was called *kolo*, or if considered impregnable, *kokomalohi*.

The construction of a *kolo* started with the digging of the moat, the earth from which was thrown up on the inside bank of the ditch to constitute the embankment, *akolo* (a fence), as high and broad as the ditch was deep and broad. The steep, outer slope of the wall merged without a break into the equally steep inner slope of the ditch. Narrow breaks in the ditch, usually adjoining corresponding narrow gateways (*mctanikolo*) in the wall, permitted ingress and egress from the area fortified. The walls and moats

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

EXCAVATIONS

LOCATIONS

Available sites for archaeological excavations in Tonga are of two kinds, old burial places and kitchen middens. The burial places, though plentiful enough, are so definitely remembered in the folk history of the people that, to their minds, excavation would be no less objectionable than the desecration of a modern cemetery. The kitchen middens are so few in number and represent such small accumulations of debris, both in area and in thickness, that only the determination to leave no possible source of information untouched made their investigation desirable. In the end, the discovery of pottery alone justified the amount of time and energy expended.

Exceptional conditions permitted the opening of five old burial places. One *faitoka* on the island of Motutapu and two langis on the island of Tongatabu were deliberately opened. One unknown *faitoka* was entered in excavating what was reported to be an old god-house *paepae*, on the island of Pangaimotu. The fifth burial place was accidentally uncovered in excavating a kitchen midden at Nukualofa.

The kitchen middens excavated are: 1 at Nukualofa; 1 on the island of Pangaimotu; 2 in caves on the island of Eua; 1 in the town of Mua; 1 on the island of Motutapu. All of these are in the Tongatabu group; no kitchen middens of any description rewarded the search in the Haapai and Vavau groups. The results of excavations are included in the following brief descriptions.

PANGAIMOTU SITES

Kitchen Middens

The island of Pangaimotu, situated about 2¼ miles northeast of Nukualofa, has an area of less than one square mile and a maximum elevation of about 15 feet. Although uninhabited, the island supports several very productive yam and fruit gardens, cared for and harvested in season by inhabitants from the main island.

On the southwest coast of the island, the sea has encroached upon the land to produce a perpendicular, earthen bank above the beach line, 2 to 6 feet in height and several hundred feet in length. Inland from this exposure, the land surface dips downward, indicating that the sea has cut in to the very center of the original embankment. The foundation of the mound seems to have been a sand dune. The upper strata, to a varying depth, are composed largely of ash, charcoal, marine shells, and burnt coral rock. Near

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

stitutions. If their young men wanted excitement, there was Fiji: there they might have their fill of war and rapine, but in Tonga they must obey the chiefs set over them by the gods or brave the consequence of the broken *tabu*. In those days no Tongan had dared to test the belief. It was not a superstition. They had seen men die whom they knew to have infringed a *tabu*, and others, cursed by some enemy, had withered away before their eyes. Thus was royal authority strengthened by physical fear—ever the strongest influence with the mob.[1]

For sixty years the land was at peace. They built great tombs for their chiefs, and turned the islands into vast gardens, so that there was abundance, and rich portions of the first-fruits were presented to the gods. Then Moungatonga, the Tui Haatakalaua, took the Samoan woman Tohuia to wife, and when her son Ngata grew to manhood, Moungatonga grew wearied with the weight of authority, and charged him with the dominion of the people, while he withdrew himself into the honoured obscurity of rank without power. The new temporal king took his title from the sacred soil of Kanokubolu

[1] Now that the bugbear of the *tabu* has been put to flight before the light of Christianity, they have preserved the belief in a changed form. They believe that he who swears falsely, after kissing the Bible, must die. In 1886 a house was burned down by an incendiary, and before the courts could interfere, all the villagers met together for a trial by ordeal. A Bible was brought, and each person took a solemn oath that he or she was innocent of the crime. They took no interest in the judicial inquiry, feeling sure that the culprit would die within a few weeks. Not long afterwards an elderly woman named Ana began to sicken and refuse her food. She grew rapidly worse, and at last confessed that, in a fit of jealousy, she had set fire to the house of her rival. Her end was hastened by the warnings of her relations that if she was guilty of perjury she had no chance of recovery. She was fairly frightened to death.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

far as Mua, driving their enemy before them to Hihifo. The eastern and central portions of the island were thus ranged against the western. Tradition has left us no clue to the motive of Mulikihaamea, but, to judge from Finau's subsequent conduct, it seems probable that the rebels were assured of his support before they ventured to strike the blow.[1]

For the events that followed we have the accounts of the missionaries who accompanied the Royalist army; of the apostate Vason, who actually fought on the side of the rebels; and the descriptions given by the natives to Mariner eight years later.

Tukuaho fell on the night of the 21st April 1799. The missionaries were scattered throughout the different districts, each living under the protection of some leading chief, who, though willing to protect them during times of peace, was quite unable to restrain his people after war had broken out. With the first news of the rebellion the serfs broke down all restraint, and slaughtered pigs and fowls wholesale to compensate them for their enforced abstinence in times of peace. For the first fortnight there was no general engagement, but there were slight skirmishes which served to embitter the hostility between the two parties. One of the rebels was taken prisoner, and was cut up alive and eaten,—a reversion to cannibalism, after the lapse of two centuries, that was owing, doubtless, to the baleful example of Fiji. Ata, the hereditary chief of Hihifo, ordered the bones of Finau's father to be exhumed, and hung upon a tree in Pangaimotu. This was the grossest insult that could be offered to the

[1] Vason's 'Four Years in Tongatábu.'

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

Ulukalala family, and it served several chiefs as an excuse for deserting to the rebels.

On the 9th May news reached Hihifo that the rebels were advancing, supported by Finau's fleet of fifteen sail of canoes. Their plan was to shut the Royalists up in the narrow promontory of Hihifo and utterly destroy them. The rebel army, led by Mulikihaamea in person, marched on the evening of the 9th as far as Teikiu, and despatched an advance-guard to reconnoitre. Among these was Vason. This party advanced till nightfall, and then took shelter for the night in a house near the road without taking the precaution of posting sentries. The Royalists meanwhile, led by Ata, left Hihifo at four o'clock in the afternoon, halting during the night to allow a party time to push to the front. The night was very dark, and they crept forward, each holding the belt of the man in front of him. They could have slaughtered the rebel outpost as they slept, but they chose rather to pass them and take the main body by surprise at Teikiu. At daybreak the rebel outpost was surprised by the main body of the Royalists. They observed no sort of order or formation, and in a few moments they were in full flight. They rallied again at the end of the cross-road that led to the position of their main force; but the enemy, leaving a small force to keep them from effecting a junction, ran off to reinforce their comrades then engaged with Mulikihaamea. At the sight of this reinforcement the rebel army, which had been taken by surprise at daylight, was filled with dismay. Their leader tried in vain to restore confidence: they wavered and fled. In his efforts to rally them Mulikihaamea was left behind in his litter, and the

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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apart. The poem contained five or six stanzas of ten lines, and in all these there were but two differences of one word each.

The ancient monuments of Tonga have an interest of their own, since they are the rare efforts of a people who build their houses and temples of materials no more enduring than grass. The tombs of the Tui Tonga, described by so many travellers, are in the ordinary form of the Polynesian *malae*, a quadrilateral mound faced by huge blocks of stone, rising sometimes in terraces to a height of 20 feet. From the account left to us by the first missionaries of the funeral of Mumui in the year 1797, we know that each of these mounds contains in its exact centre the body of a dead king. The tombs are now so overgrown with forests that it is almost impossible to photograph them. Banyan-trees have sprouted on the terraces, and have bored their roots into every crevice, covering the stones with a lacework of tendrils which, year by year, force great blocks asunder, till the form of the terraces is almost obliterated. I tried to persuade a leading man of Mua to clear away the forest and preserve the tombs; but I found that even in these days the tradition of the *tabu* is strong enough to make this a sacrilege. The rule was, that after a body was laid to rest, Nature should be allowed to shroud it from the vulgar gaze, and that no foot should trample the hallowed ground until the death of a successor. When this happened, the people reverently cleared the whole ground, and built a new tomb, and practised the extraordinary funeral rites that have been so minutely described by Mariner. But now that the office of Tui Tonga has been abolished, the tombs will never again be cleared

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

From my conversations with the Tongans I am not quite sure where the votaries and the priests sat during consultation of a god, but think that the people would sit round at a respectable distance on the green sward in front of the temple, and the priests would sit either just within or without the doorway. Descriptions seem to point to some such arrangement as this, and it is rendered almost certain by its thorough agreement with universal custom in the paying of a ceremonial visit to an important chief. It is hardly necessary to add that all references to the gods were couched in the most deferential language, terms being employed which were applied to the Tui Tonga and the Tamaha alone amongst mortals, though used now of the constitutional king. Such words are naturally used to-day of the Deity in Christian worship.

Another common mark of deference in approaching a superior is the wearing of a mat about the waist, girt on with a cinnet-rope belt. This addition to the dress, called a *taovala*, is universally worn at the *fono*, or assemblies where the people are gathered together to hear the will of their chiefs, or of the government, or when approaching a great chief, especially to ask a favour. It is also worn at funerals. Undoubtedly it was worn by the people approaching one of the ancient gods. A mark of still deeper humility is a wreath of the leaves of the *ifi* (*Inocarpus edulis*, Tahitian chestnut) round the neck. This badge of deference was used, for example, by supplicants suing for their lives. To sit with the head bowed, and these leaves round the neck, was the strongest possible expression of humility and entreaty. Whether it were a common adjunct or not of worship I do not know, but it would seem highly probable that it was employed at all events on occasions of great stress. Mariner describes it as being worn on a certain occasion in entering a temple, but in this instance the wearers were pleading for their lives to a great chief.

Naturally the gods varied in power and influence. Some were resorted to by the whole nation; others were the gods of powerful chiefs and their tribes and clans, whilst others enjoyed a more limited prestige, their devotees being the little group of allied households which forms the usual social unit. There was nothing to prevent a man's setting up a tutelary deity of his own if he were so disposed. The number of the gods, moreover, was liable to constant augumentation by the deification of the illustrious or well-beloved dead. A notable instance is Fakailoatonga, a chief related to Finau, of Vavau. In his life-time Fakailoatonga was a famous warrior, and subdued, or at least over-ran, a large part of Tongatabu, "but he was a leper." For long he was ignorant of the nature of his malady, and his friends sedulously refrained from reference to it. But one day a companion told him the ghastly truth, and Fakailoatonga, in his disgust, buried himself alive. After his death he was elevated to the goddage. In the

17: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923
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painful, but the next day I walked about without the least twinge. 752
I asked her how she knew where to rub. She replied that she just 759
rubbed. "Well," I said, "How did you learn to do it?" "By doing it," she answered, "my father used to make me go and do it for people." And that was all the explanation she was able to give. At another time I was cured of a strain in the groin by a man who just pressed the top of his thumb gently on the strain, so gently that I thought he was afraid of hurting me: but I was quite well in a few hours.

The trouble with the Tongan practitioners is that they have little 757
or no idea of diagnosing a complaint. They just try one thing after 759
another, and the massaging, excellent as it is, is frequently employed where it is not only useless, but even dangerous. Diagnosis is replaced by a series of trials and failures; as the Tongans say, "We'll have a try." If one thing does not show quick results, try another. A man went to a missionary and asked for medicine for a little girl. "She is very ill indeed," he said, "yesterday we gave her seventeen sorts of medicine and she is not better yet." Different practitioners have their own special remedies. One medicine man, or woman, after another, tries his cure, till one is found which gives promise of success, which shows a "sign," or until death cuts short the experiment, and gives a verdict which is accepted with pious resignation as the will of the Lord.

Nor are efforts at cure confined to the person of the patient. 775
Neglect of the dead is a fruitful source of discomfort and sickness to 753
the living. Many ghosts, however, do not seem to merit so much fear as pity. Certainly there are bad-tempered ghosts, who are the ghosts of bad-tempered people pretty often, but frequently the dead cause annoyance to the living to draw attention to their own miseries. The root of a tree has grown through the head of a buried corpse, 775
and a living relative suffers from headache. Of course the cause of 753
the trouble may not be located at once. The living sufferer has 769
recourse to one treatment after another. All is unavailing. At length the cemetery may be tried. The grave is opened, the root cut out, and the headache disappears. It happens, in the cases of this sort of which I have heard, the patient has generally, if not always been a woman, and the suffering corpse, or ghost, that of an elderly female relative. Sometimes a rearrangement of the buried bones sets everything right, and effects a cure. This ghostly physic is not effective only in cases of headache. The woman who so courageously bore the loss of a rib made good recovery, except for a small hole which refused to close up. It did not occasion any real discomfort, but naturally she preferred to be without it. An investigation of her mother's bones was at length decided upon; but I have not heard whether it has been carried out. The inconsiderate affection of the 775
787

17: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923
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775 787 dead may cause much trouble to the living. The poor ghost longs for companionship that it has lost, and wanders forth to seek its old friends, and induce them to come with it. It enters, or approaches, the body of a living friend, usually by the way a hysterical woman, and she may become so violent and excited that several people are required to hold her. A girl in this condition gave a man a good bite in the side; but this exhibition of her powers did not deter him from afterwards marrying her. Perhaps the possessed woman may lie inert, taking no notice of what is said to her. She may tell the onlookers that so-and-so wants her to go with her. One way of treating the trouble is to knead the patient with the knuckles, to press the intruder out. I know a man who chased a ghost round the body of a woman with hot-water packs.

775 753 [761] [774] Fainting fits may be due to the attentions of ghosts. A person in a faint is said to be *māte*, dead. I have heard an unconscious child spoken of as distant, or away; apparently the soul was away.

775 755 757 787 Massage is not the only remedy. There are leaves which are potent layers of ghosts. Tongan treatment is homœopathic, and the effective leaves have a strong smell. They are said to *namu fevolo*, smell like a ghost or spirit; consequently they have the power of scaring off ghosts. A decoction is made of the leaves, and the juice pressed into ears, eyes, nostrils and mouth, and perhaps rubbed on the body. Ghosts cannot pass the barrier thus set up. There seems to be no apprehension lest the ghost be imprisoned inside the patient. When the patient weeps quietly that is a sign of recovery. Her tears are in sorrowful farewell to her dead friend who is leaving her.

Procedure is simplified by the patient's telling the name of the ghost. The sick girl may not herself know who it is that is so unkindly affectionate, but sometimes she sees the ghost in a dream 778 or in a waking vision, or recognises its voice. Armed with this 769 identification of the intruder, friends visit the grave, and beseech the dead to leave the living alone. There in not a set form of words to be used; respectful remonstrance, threat, anything is in order that may be supposed to be effective. Sometimes the grave is opened and medicine leaves put on the body. A very drastic remedy is to pour boiling sea-water on the grave, though this is not necessarily more effective than turning the bones about and mixing them up. If the head is put where the feet ought to be, and the legs where one would expect to find the head, the cleverest ghost is unable to get itself 775 sorted out and in shape for walking. Ghostly visitations are not always an occasion of sickness. They may be manifested in mysterious lights. People are rather ashamed of having their dead relatives walking about. Neighbours are inclined to judge harshly, and to conclude that the spirit is failing to make good its entry into heaven, and is exhibiting a not unnatural reluctance to take the final

20: Gifford E-5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

to indicate the attitude of mind of the church members. Needless to say the case has its heathen parallels.

Although the worship of the ancient deities is dead, nevertheless there was living in Tongatapu Island in 1921, one Kautai, who had only a few months before been installed as priest of the shark-god Taufa. Though the worship of Taufa has perished and his sanctuary is no more, still the title of his priest lives, each patrilinear successor having the title conferred on him by the reigning monarch. The present Kautai is a good Roman Catohlic. This perpetuation of ancient titles is common in Tonga. Ancient powerful chiefs are represented to-day by individuals bearing the same titles, but utterly shorn of power.

Three ancient deities still manifest themselves. One is Fehuluni, a disembodied human spirit, who sometimes appears as a male, sometimes as a female, and usually in a siren role. A native fired at a feminine manifestation of this deity with a shot gun, only to find a dead lizard at the spot where the apparition was seen.

Another deity much feared is the lizard god Tui Haa Fakafanua. His headquarters in Tongatabu are within Catholic precincts, where was formerly his sacred pool. Convent girls shun the spot, for the evil reputation of the god for causing feminine ills still lives.

Seketoa, a fish god of Niuatoputapu Island, has been much in evidence in recent years. His incarnation is a great fish which follows boats near Niuatoputapu. His presence in those waters is unimpeachably attested by both Tongan and European observers.

The royal tombs of Tonga are truncated, terraced pyramids, anciently of enormous blocks of coral sandstone. In recent decades the material utilized has been concrete. Tongans will not walk over a royal tomb, no matter how ancient.

Graves of commoners are marked by little terraced mounds decorated with a mosaic of small stones of different colours. To-day the designs are more intricate than anciently, the coloured linoleum and title advertisements of magazines having furnished ideas for new geometric designs.

Ghosts now and then manifest themselves as of old. In 1921, a Catholic girl, gathering shellfish with women on

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

and it was also his duty to maintain the god-house, or temple, in due repair and order.

The religion of the Tonguese, as it existed when they became known to the civilized world, incorporated no abstract principles of belief. It was rather a system of despotism, in which deities, ceremonies, and restrictions, had been indefinitely multiplied, till it presented a chaos of dark superstitions, into which the population plunged headlong, through slavish fear and ignorance. The mysteries and enactments of heathen worship, although submitted to by the chiefs themselves, unquestionably were intended more for the perpetuation of their power and influence, than to direct the ideas of the people to matters of spiritual and eternal interest, or even to those involving temporal improvement. No spirit of benevolence pervaded the system. It abounded in punishments for the present life, and in dark threatenings for the future. *Bulotu*, the Tonguese paradise, was reserved only for the spirits of departed chiefs and persons of rank; who, in their turn, became the servants of the presiding genius of Bulotu, and as such were often worshipped and sacrificed to by the people, for the purpose of securing their interposition with the gods. Of the fate of the *tuas*, or common people, there was no certainty whatever; and it was doubtful whether they had any souls at all. A general opinion, however, did prevail, that there was a future state, and with it vague and conflicting notions of rewards and punishments. Their traditions referred to the creation of the world, and probably also to the deluge; but, even then, according to their ideas, a multiplicity of gods existed. Savage rites, and deities who

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

one body. No particle of clay or earthy mould is allowed to touch the remains of the dead. The sand is brought in baskets by the chief mourners, who sometimes sail or journey many miles to procure it; and each person pours the contents into the grave, until it is sufficiently filled up. The top of the grave is, afterwards, carefully tended and decorated with black pebbles and red coral, arranged in various devices, which have a very pretty effect. Small houses are also placed over the tombs of the chiefs and gentry. Owing, however, to the circumstance that many of the religious practices of heathenism required visits, and offerings, at the graves of deceased individuals, whose interposition with the gods was thought necessary, these places were much more carefully attended to formerly than they are now. Indeed, the Missionaries will, probably, find it needful to advise the people against running into the extreme of negligence, and indifference, about the last resting-places of deceased friends.

In the days of heathenism, occasions of burials and marriages were accompanied by immense feastings, proportioned according to the rank of the parties, or the will of those connected with them. Property, of various kinds, was always prepared by the relations and friends against these times, and brought as gifts. These were thrown into one common stock, from which they were again distributed, by those authorized to do so, to the assembled company. These distributions of property often led to bitter family and tribal animosities, and were seasons when the true and inordinate covetousness of the people could not remain concealed. These practices still continue, to some

40: Moulton M-4,5 (ca.1880-1920)
1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

whose shrine was a shark [Mariner renders *Taliai Tubou* by 'Wait there, Tubou,' which is certainly incorrect; Taliai Tubou was probably the name of a king]; Bulotu Katoa (the Pleroma of the Spirit World, who presided over hurricanes, and agriculture), whose shrine, we think, was a tree at Kolonga [Mariner mentions several the present writer has never heard of: Tubou Toutai ('Tubou the Mariner'; Tubou is the familiar designation of the king, and one of his family is usually called Tubou Toutai); Hala'evalu ('Eight Ways'; also the name of a chief); 'Alo'alo ('the Fanner'), the god of wind and weather, rain, harvest, and vegetation; Tu'i Bulotu ('King of the Spirit World')]. Other gods resided in the turtle, the cuttle-fish, the kingfisher, etc. Fonokitangata's shrine was a war-club. These were, so to speak, the private gods of the people, and the shrine of each was tabu to its worshippers. Thus the people of Te'ekiu were forbidden to eat the octopus, that being the shrine of their god. In the neighbouring villages, however, it would be freely eaten. In Nomuka one particular family were thus debarred from eating turtle, while the rest of the town were free to partake of that delicacy.

(3) In addition to these there were a number of supernatural beings whose position in the Tongan pantheon is not clear. They were looked upon as gods, and the term expressive of highest deity was applied to them; but they were never worshipped, nor were temples built to them. On the contrary, they were looked upon with contempt, and their follies freely portrayed and laughed at. It is curious to see these ascriptions of high divinity and expressions of contempt standing side by side. Is it that these were the gods of the inferior race which the Tongans found in the group when they landed?

Take an instance or two. Jiji and Faiga'a were two goddesses in this class, who had set their affections on a Tongan of great masculine beauty called Bajikole. He, tired of their attentions, plaited two large baskets of cocoa-nut leaves, put one goddess in each, and, shouldering them like a Chinaman, conveyed them into the bush, and hung them on the branch of a tree, and left them there for two years, until the baskets rotted, and they fell to the ground. They made another attempt on his affections, and he finally got rid of them by inveigling them into his fish traps, and leaving them at the bottom of the sea, where they lay until Tangaloa took pity on them, and sent a god to release them. Take another instance. In this case also it was two goddesses, who set out to meet a mortal lover. While waiting for him, they took off their heads to dress their hair. Suddenly his footsteps were heard, and they put their heads on again; but in the hurry one of them put hers on hind before; and when she attempted to move, her face went one way and her legs another. It is extremely puzzling to meet with tales like these, referring to those to whom the titles of highest deity are given: and yet, after all, they do but recall the vagaries of the Olympian deities as described by Homer, when

'Unextinguished laughter shook the skies.'

On the subject of ancestor-worship, Mariner speaks positively (vol. ii. p. 97): 'That there are other Hotooas or gods, viz. the souls of all deceased nobles and mataboolas.' The present writer was disposed to agree with him at first, especially as it was a custom of the people to go to the cemeteries to pray, even after a sacrifice had been presented at the temple. But further inquiry has convinced him that they did so because they fancied themselves nearer the spirit-world in such places. Intelligent chiefs like Valu, who were acquainted with heathenism, are equally positive in the other direction, and deny that they looked upon the spirits of deceased chiefs as gods. We think the truth lies between the two statements, and that Mariner himself gives us a key to the solution of the question. In vol. i. p. 376, he speaks of Feenow as being frequently inspired by the spirit of Mumui (a late king of Tonga). Now we can readily understand that in such circumstances Feenow would pray to Mumui, and others would join him; so that in time Mumui would be

40: Moulton M-4,5 (ca.1880-1920)
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769 looked upon as a god. This would account for such gods as Tu'i Lalotonga, Tu'i 'Ahau, Taliai 776 Tubou, and others. All the inquiries of the present 779 writer negative the assertion that the spirits of chiefs as a general thing became gods. We may then look upon the gods of the first class as primitive, brought by the Tongans from their original home, and the third class as the gods of the aboriginals whom they conquered. The second class contained also some primitive gods, but was recruited largely from the spirits of ancestors—*i.e.* the spirits of certain deceased chiefs by whom kings and notable personages fancied themselves to have been possessed.

778 The other point the present writer made special 776 inquiries about was whether the Tongans wor- 779 shipped the clubs, whales' teeth, animals, trees, stones, etc., before which they placed their offerings, or the god who was supposed to be temporarily residing in them. [782] The answer was decisive. The clubs, trees, etc., were simply the *waka*, the god itself was spiritual. *Vaka* signifies a 'mode of conveyance,' usually a canoe, but also a carriage, or anything by which one is conveyed from place to place.

776 Probably we may see here a development of their 779 spiritual ideas. The oldest class—Tangaloa, Maui, Hemoana—were undoubtedly corporeal. Their bodies performed all the functions of human bodies, [178] and they were inflamed with human passions. But the Tongans had long ceased to pray to them, and scarcely any vestiges of their worship remained when the missionaries came. The third class of gods, too, were corporeal, but there are no signs of worship being paid them at any time. [178] These two classes existed side by side; but long before the introduction of Christianity both had been discarded as objects of worship, which was paid only to the second class. In other words, the Tongans had worked out a theology, which had, at any rate, this noble feature in it, that God was a spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit.

192 The general Tongan term for supernatural beings is *fa'aAkeke*. 776 This is often shortened into *fa'aAí*, and when the adjective *laki* 779 ('great') is added—*fa'aAí laki*—the idea conveyed is that of full [111] deity. *Fa'aAí* signifies properly 'a party,' 'a side' (as in cricket); or it may be short for *fa'akinga* = 'kind,' 'class,' 'race,' 'species,' 'genus.' *Kehe* = 'other' (*ἕτερος*, not *ἄλλος*), so *fa'aAikehe* is 'different folk,' 'other kind of people.' The usual word for 'God' is *'Otua*. Mariner spells it *Hotooa*, but there is no A in it. The inverted comma represents a guttural, a half *k*, which is one of the difficulties of the language. It is not readily recognized by the European ear, and is mostly neglected by foreigners, while being as intractable as the Ayin in Hebrew. The present writer has failed to find any derivation for *'Otua*, or meaning other than 'God,' and believes it to be a primitive Polynesian word. In some parts of the Pacific it appears as *Atua*.

The other great word is *'Eiki* = 'Lord,' which is used as in English for both earthly and heavenly lords. Hence it is not so high a term as *'Otua*. Indeed it seems sometimes to mean only 'supernatural.' Thus a corpse is called *ha me'a faka'eiki*, which apparently signifies 'a thing belonging to the spirit world.' Probably Mariner was thinking of this when he said (vol. ii. p. 130): [114] 'The human soul after its separation from the body is termed *hotooa*, *i.e.* a god or spirit.' He is certainly wrong in that statement. It is clear that *'eiki* was not the original form of the [769] word, which the laws of the language point out to have been *tiiki*.

776 We must not pass over the fact that the members 779 of one of the dynasties of kings were regarded as gods. This was the earliest line of kings, and their 643 title was *Tu'i Tonga* ('King of Tonga'). They were certainly looked upon as in some sense divine beings; and instances are on record of prayers being offered to them. Words applied only to the 643 gods were used in addressing them; such as *'Ei*, 195 already referred to, *ha'ele*, and *'afio*, used of the movements of deity. The face of the Tu'i Tonga was termed the 'sky,' and to him, as the representative of the gods, were presented the 'first-fruits.' This ceremony, called the *'inaji*, or 'portion,' is described by Mariner (vol. ii. p. 196). When [764] a Tu'i Tonga died, he was said to be 'missing' (*Aala*), and he was buried in a *ziggurat*, or pyramid

[p. 377-B]

57: Clerke G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

that nothing remain'd of the Ear, but the outside fleshy Skin; this I understand was for the reception of some Ornament, which was fashionable at their Isle, but having nothing in it now, it hung about their Shoulders.

The Natives of Fidgi are the only people in this part of the World, who use Bows & Arrows in Battle: it is very amazing, that tho' these Friends of ours, experience the efficacy of them in their own destruction, that they do not attempt an imitation, but still adhere to their Spears & Clubs, which they find so infinitely inferior Weapons, they have Bows and Arrows, with which they Shoot Birds & Fish, but have no idea of improving them to nobler uses, tho' they have the Example before their Eyes. They tell us, the Fidgi Gentry frequently eat their Prisoners, & deem a good jolly Carcass of a Man the most delicious Fare in the World, so much so, that the Feast is wholly devoted to the Gentry, the lower Class not being sufferd to taste: they give us so particular an account of this Business & at the same time it is so universal among them, that for my own part I have no doubt of its Authenticity, and that they do deem it a choice repast.

Every principal Family among our Friends, here, have a particular burying Place, which they call their Mori; it is form'd by throwing up an Elevation about 6 or 8 feet above the general Surface of the Earth, which they render compact by facing it with large Stones or Sod; a very large one in particular at Amsterdam, was fac'd with Stones which they had hewn for that purpose, about a foot thick, 5 or 6 in length, & 4 or 5 in breadth;[1] in the middle of this rising is a House into which the dead Body is carried & buried. These Elevations of the Mori's are from an 100 to 2 or 300 yard, in circumference, they are held very sacred; nobody goes near them but the People of the Family: it wou'd be Death to one of the lower Class of People to enter one of the little burial Houses, & I much query if it wou'd not, to be seen walking over the Eminence of the Mori. There must be a great deal of Pain in their Mourning Ceremonies for their Friends here, they make a confounded howling & beat their Faces just upon the Cheek Bone, till the Blood & Tears flow most abundantly. I believe the more heartily they beat themselves, the greater Compliment they are suppos'd to pay to the deceas'd; they must have some very persuasive Inducement, for 'tis almost incredible to what a degree they torment themselves upon these Occasions. A very fine Lass, a particular Friend of Feenow's, with whose Household I was very intimate, made herself such a fright (in honour of old Mallawogga's wife, who was a friend of hers, and died whilst we were there) that I absolutely knew no more of her at our next Meeting, than if I had never seen her in my Life: that mutilation of the hand by cutting off the little finger, is certainly a ceremony at the death of their Relations; I enquir'd the particulars of this Circumstance of many of them; they all told me, the right hand finger was devoted to the father, and the left to the Mother.[2]

[1] This was evidently a *langi*, or royal tomb.

[2] This last detail of the propitiation ceremony so often referred to is found nowhere else, but is not impossibly true.

/281 cont./

829 177 [186] whites only what seems good to them and are by no means uncritical--insofar as circumstances make criticism possible for them. Faced with the superiority of European materials and the European mind they maintain ease and equanimity.

/282/ To be sure, most Tongans feel that their way of life is poor compared to the high material and intellectual standard of Europeans. [565] But they accept this as a fact and do not seem burdened by it, especially since they are all, nobles as well as commoners, on the same level and actual comparisons with the European way of life are very rare or indeed quite impossible.

829 177 178 The majority of natives are not at all aware of the fact that their culture is no longer pure and aboriginal, but rather a mixed culture which contains much that for the Tongan is actually useless and merely "imitation." There is no resigned looking-back to ancient Tongan culture and history, (760)

[769] 760. The ruins of grave sites (tombstones, "langi") of the ancient Tongan supreme rulers (Tu'i Tonga) at Mu'a/Tongatapu are for the most part overgrown. and in the midst of two old stone monuments on the island of Nomuka/Ha'apai there is even kape planted.

but rather affirmation of the present and anticipation of the future. (761)

761. Only a few chiefs regret the decline of those customs which once stressed their social rank so clearly.

Many natives, however, have the painful feeling that the Tongan can never become "like the European." Very few conclude, on the basis of this, consciously to preserve their ancient Tongan cultural heritage alongside the adopted European /culture/ and to unite it with the latter. The majority of the people, however, do this quite unconsciously.

[184] [369] There is a certain difference between the attitude of the population